

XXXX XXXX

Dr. Clement Price/Professor Matt Ruben

Race In American History and Culture: New Perspectives

15 August 20XX

Major League Baseball – Our National Past Time or has it Passed Its Time:

The Rise, Fall and Future of African-Americans in Baseball

Most everyone knows about Jackie Robinson, who in 1947 became the first African-American to break into Major League Baseball (MLB) in 1947. He is credited with breaking down the color barrier and led the integration for people of color into modern day sport. Poetic images of #42 abound. MLB was the first in the sports arena to breakdown segregation and Jim Crowism in sport. The game was improved for the better. The contributions of African-Americans in baseball have long been widely acknowledged since integration and written about. African-American baseball players peaked from 27% in 1975 (Ruck 1) to a slow decline over the years to 8.5% in 2011 (Lapchick 1). Why has there been such a precipitous drop of black players in MLB? While there has been much written about the decline to lack of space, lack of funds to organize, lack of baseball college scholarships and the move of African-American athletes to basketball, this paper asserts and will present research that suggests Major League Baseball itself has caused much of the attrition of African-Americans in baseball by covert discrimination and by its neglect of the black community.

This paper will focus on four aspects. First, to fully understand the connection of African-Americans and baseball, a history of the Negro Leagues needs to be undertaken. Secondly, a discussion of integration and the positive and negative effects to baseball and society will be addressed. Thirdly, how Major League Baseball has failed to integrate fully and its

**Comment [1]:** Not quite grammatical – but clever!

**Comment [2]:** of

**Comment [3]:** modern-day professional sports

**Comment [4]:** sports league

**Comment [5]:** break down

**Comment [6]:** “improved for the better” is redundant; and you should avoid such editorial comments at the outset of the paper

**Comment [7]:** since integration have been widely acknowledged and written about.

**Comment [8]:** Abrupt shift – you’re saying how they’ve contributed, and now you’re shifting to their declining participation. This is a crucial shift in your paper, so you need to clearly signal it to your reader with “But” or “Yet” – or better yet, with something like, “Despite this historical contribution, African American participation in professional baseball actually has declined over the past 35 years.”

**Comment [9]:** In the percentage of

**Comment [10]:** Much has been written

**Comment [11]:** Great thesis statement – you note what “They Say” (there’s been much written...), and then contrast it with what YOU are saying. This is the classic “They Say/I Say” move and it sets up your argument and your paper nicely.

implications to the disconnect to the black community. Lastly, in conclusion, it will address what Major League Baseball is doing in response to the decline of African- American participation in baseball.

**Comment [12]:** Not a complete sentence.

Why is the question of the declining participation of blacks in baseball so puzzling and worth investigating? The importance cannot be understood until a history of African-Americans and their rich connection to this sport is established. Baseball began in earnest after the Civil War, a type of leisure activity to heal the wounds as America went towards industrialism and urbanization. 1876 through 1901 saw the evolution of baseball from a leisurely activity into a sport of organized leagues. From the 1870's until the 1890's quite a few African-Americans were active, and found tolerance, on integrated minor and major league teams. Black players such as John "Bud" Fowler, Moses "Fleetwood" Walker, George Stovey, and Frank Grant were the most notable. This all changes in 1890 when a gentleman's agreement is made, not a formal announcement, that would bar black players from participation in white Major League Baseball for over 50 years. Also, in 1896, the Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* reinforced "separate, but equal" facilities in regards to blacks and whites. As sports often reflects society, segregation spread throughout the nation, as it did on its ball fields.

**Comment [13]:** Good "road map" paragraph. But item 3 seems to be the heart of your argument, and it's not clear how items 1 and 2 fit with it, except as pure background info. Ideally the paper should clearly state how each part connects to the others, and in particular how each part helps *build and support your main argument/thesis*.

**Comment [14]:** GOOD – you explain the importance/significance of your research paper here.

During this time, and prior to World War I, the economic and social conditions in the South deteriorated, fostered by entrenched Jim Crow laws and discrimination. This led many African Americans into a mass migration to the northern cities of New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. Members of the black community in cities embraced the strategies of Booker T. Washington by forming institutions to meet their needs due to their exclusion from the white

mainstream. This was extended to leisure activities, which were sorely needed in the manufacturing cities of the northeast and Midwest. It was under this climate that the Negro Leagues developed in industrial cities (Mills 2).

Black entrepreneurship in baseball is first achieved by Andrew “Rube” Foster. Known as the “father of organized black baseball,” he creates the first organized Negro League in Chicago. Rube Foster was an example of how blacks in their own leagues handled all aspects of the game, including who would be commissioner. He was arguably the most well-known and famous African-American of his time. Robert Peterson, in his ground-breaking work on the Negro Leagues, *Only the Ball was White: A history of Legendary Black Players and All-Black Professional Teams*, notes:

“As an outstanding pitcher, a colorful and shrewd field manager, and the founder and stern administer of the first viable Negro league, Foster was the most impressive figure in black baseball history. From about 1911-1926, he stood astride Negro baseball in the Midwest with unchallenged power, a friend of major league leaders, and the best known black man in Chicago. Rube Foster was an unlettered genius who combined generosity and sternness, the superb skills of a dedicated athlete and an unbounded belief in the future of the black baseball player. Had he chosen otherwise, baseball would have been the poorer” (Peterson 103).

Black teams were ultimately formed in the East, Midwest, Mid Atlantic and the Upper South cities of Baltimore and St. Louis. Black- owned enterprises such as the Hilldale Club of Darby, Pennsylvania began a new era in black baseball and expanded its own fan base. Black baseball contributed profoundly to the African-American experience. It provided entertainment and fostered a sense of racial pride and identity, and providing invaluable experience and training missing to blacks in a segregated society. By the end of World War I, black baseball had perhaps become the number one entertainment attraction for the urban black population

throughout the country. As Gerald Early in his essay entitled *Birdland: Two observations on the Cultural Significance of Baseball*, so eloquently states:

“So Negro league baseball was where black exceptionalism met American exceptionalism. Where black salvation and redemption met America as the New Jerusalem. It is this intersection –where despite terrible adversity, the African-American belief in the American promise of liberty and self-fulfillment has remained true –it is at this intersection that the idea of black urban community was created, emerging in 1920 in one stunning form when Rube Foster created the first Negro League, just as the new Negro Renaissance was getting under way” (Early 11).

The Negro Leagues were able to survive hardships such as the Great Depression. High unemployment of blacks and loss of indiscretionary income caused a drop in attendance at games. Despite economic challenges posed to the entire nation, the three major Negro league circuits were able to hold on and build one of the largest and most successful black owned enterprises in the US. Contributing to the continued success during these difficult times were future Hall of Famers such as the pitcher, Satchel Paige, Josh Gibson, also known as “the black Babe Ruth,” and the successful marketing of the East-West Game. The East-West Game was the brainchild of a new organizer of the Negro League, an African-American, Gus Greenlee in 1933. The East-West game was played in Chicago’s Comiskey Park and became baseball’s most popular attraction and biggest money maker. This event exposed black players to a larger audience. Newspapers, both black and white provided great coverage. This game evolved into a superior money- making proposition to showcase black talent to white America and prove the potential money making ability of the industry. By 1941, the popularity of the East-West game drew 47,865 fans to Comiskey Park, outdrawing any white baseball games at the time (Lancot 107).

**Comment [15]:** Strange things are going on in the paper with the line spacing.

Satchel Paige, the showboating, legendary pitcher was another huge draw for the Negro Leagues. Joining the Negro Leagues in 1924, he became the most winning pitcher of the Negro Leagues during the 1930's and 40's. He drew crowds, black and white wherever he pitched. Sportswriter and Negro League historian, John Holway writes in the book, *Black Diamonds, Life in the Negro Leagues from the Men Who Lived It* writes:

“The Monarchs were getting a percentage of the gate where he played. Satchel played nearly every night somewhere and was getting 15% off of the gate. Satchel was making more than the major leaguers were getting. Satchel's first year in the major leagues, he actually lost money (Holway 97).

While Satchel Paige was the most famous name among black baseball players from the Negro Leagues, according to sportswriter Robert Peterson, Josh Gibson was the greatest hitter. He would have been one of baseball's superstars in the Major Leagues, and would have posed the most serious threat ever to Babe Ruth's lifetime record of 714 home runs, had he lived to see integration in baseball (Peterson 158-170).

World War II brought some hardships and yet some bonuses to Negro League baseball. Fifty players were lost to service in World War II. Due to tremendous labor demands, the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) in defense industries, increased employment in Northern and Western cities and added to black migration to these cities in search of employment. Between 1940-1944 the number of black unemployed dropped from 937,562 to 151,000. By 1944, 1.5 million blacks were employed in war industries in league cities such as Philadelphia, Newark, Baltimore, Cleveland and Chicago. Clearly, the new job opportunities for blacks led to unprecedented levels at the admission gates of stadiums that housed Negro League ballgames. With discretionary income up, black baseball became a focal point for entertainment throughout the United States. In 1943, Wendell Smith, a sportswriter for the

Pittsburgh Courier, the most popular paper within the black community, wrote, “there is no doubt about it; Negro baseball has now attained the big business classification. It has passed the stage of being merely a sport or hobby” (Lanctot 139). Between 1933 and 1944 black professional baseball became a profitable enterprise bringing thousands of dollars to investors and showed great financial stability and acceptance among black fans and players.

Key to baseball’s growth was the involvement of the black community and its importance to its social life. Churches, ministers, Negro Leagues, black reporters/journalists, politicians and entrepreneurs were the leadership core of African-Americans in the cities. Baseball existed in conjunction with and was integrated with other community routines and associated identities. For example, Buck O’Neil (player, coach, and scout) remembers a Sunday ritual in Chicago of African-Americans attending games:

“We had eleven o’clock service on Sundays. But when the Kansas City Monarchs were in town, or the East-West game was on, they started church at 10:00, so they could get out an hour earlier and come to the ballgame. Came straight to the ballgame looking pretty and we loved it” (Ward and Burn 227).

Negro League baseball created a sense of belonging for African-Americans. It was an integral part of Northern urban life. Poet and fan of the Newark Eagles of the Negro Leagues, Amiri Baraka, said of black baseball it was “like a light somewhere connected to laughter and self-love” (Lanctot 394). It ranked among the highest achievements of black enterprise during segregation. Blacks, in supporting black baseball, supported black enterprise. It had a ripple effect, boosting business in black neighborhoods such as restaurants, hotels and theatres. (Tygiel 25-26).

Nearing the end of World War II, US society had a shifting attitude towards integration and challenged the foundations of Jim Crow. African-Americans could no longer

**Comment [16]:** Nice use of sources – and nice weaving together of baseball and the larger national political and economic context. However, some of these historical snippets seem strung together like a “laundry list” – not always clear how they connect to each other or exactly how they’re supporting your larger point.

**Comment [17]:** A major shift in your paper – but again, it’s presented as if it’s just another step in a “laundry list” history of events. You need to signal that you’re moving on to a crisis point in the history of black baseball/Negro leagues.

accept fighting for the US against fascism abroad, while facing discrimination and segregation in their own country. Scholar and future Nobel Prize winner, Ralph Bunche reflected those sentiments and went further by denouncing black business as a:

“‘parasitical growth on the Negro society in that it exploits the ‘race problem.’ It demands for itself special privilege and parades under the chauvinistic protection of ‘race loyalty’ thus further exploiting an already downtrodden group. It represents the welfare only of the pitifully small Negro middle class group, though demanding support for its ideology from the race conscious Negro masses’” (Lanctot, 98).

Increased salaries, economic prosperity and the presence of the FEPC shifted blacks in their thinking from survival to the larger picture of their full rights as American citizens. Integration seemed to offer greater benefits and opportunities for blacks. The time was ripe for the breaking of the color barrier in Major League Baseball. Integration became a reality in 1945 when Branch Rickey of the Brooklyn Dodgers signed Jackie Robinson, a one year player with the Kansas City Monarchs, to a minor league contract. By 1947 Jackie Robinson became the first African-American major league player. However, this achievement is bittersweet; integration in 1947 was insincere to African-Americans and, in reality, was done initially to eliminate competition in baseball and to preserve and extend the power of white owners. Major League teams went on to pluck the best players from the Negro Leagues. They received all-star talent for bargain basement prices. This caused the destruction of the Negro National League, while the Negro American League held on for several years in the 1950’s, serving as a breeding ground for future MLB talent (Tygiel 27).

To try to save the Negro Leagues, owners came up with a couple of ideas to be able to continue while MLB integrated. One idea was to sign white players to the Negro Leagues. But, they could not sign caliber players as above average white players could sign with organized baseball for higher salaries and a more comfortable lifestyle. The Negro National League and

**Comment [18]:** I like how you’re making use of multiple sources (Ward and Burn, Lanctot, Tygiel) and weaving them together. Rather than summarizing them, one after the other, you’re putting them in when you need them and then moving to other sources when you need them. This makes this historical narrative more your own – nice job.

Negro American League also met with MLB regarding an affiliation with the Negro Leagues, as a high minor league. MLB refused this affiliation and had no plans to offer any real financial or administrative assistance to the Negro Leagues (Lanctot 295).

The process of integration in MLB went along very slowly and along with it came the death of the Negro Leagues. Nearly five years after integration, less than half of MLB had integrated. In 1965, the Boston Red Sox was the last team to integrate, eighteen years after Jackie Robinson became a Brooklyn Dodger. The slowness of integration had disastrous effects on many African-American players, who were waiting in limbo to be drafted by MLB while the Negro Leagues teams disintegrated. By 1963, the ailing Negro American League collapsed a development that concerned few African-American fans, many even unaware of its existence. Many black fans had already flocked to MLB stadiums to see Jackie Robinson, Larry Doby and others play, further eroding black consumer dollars which helped lead to the demise of the Negro Leagues. William Webster, writer for a black newspaper, *The Courier*, lamented :

“Negro baseball is a Negro business and it needs preserving equally as much as Negro insurance companies, groceries and bars. Another of our enterprises is about to fold. Is this progress?” (Lanctot 364).

Integration in the Major Leagues was a triumph for social justice and a mixed blessing to African-Americans in baseball. MLB picked the best talent from the Negro Leagues, while largely ignoring black coaches, managers and owners. Instead of community building, MLB took out the talented elite. With the disparity of income, it was hard for athletes to go back and connect with the community. The Negro Leagues had created a sense of collective solidarity, identity and self-esteem. Its departure left a void in the black community and an end of the autonomous black sporting life.



Meanwhile, African-Americans players displayed great feats on the field. Jackie Robinson won Rookie of the Year in 1947 and statistics showed that between 1950-1956 the top eight teams with the most blacks won 5.6% more of their games than did the eight teams with the least representation of black players between. Also, the five teams that employed the most black players through 1956 made up 5 of the top 6 teams in won-lost percentage (Gwartney and Haworth 876). In the first fifty years of integration, black players have won half or more of hitting and power titles in the National League and one third in the American League. Eight out of twenty one players with over 3000 hits are African-American, and one third of the players inducted in the Hall of Fame since 1962 are black (Sullivan 175-176).

Needless to say, African-American players have achieved great success since integration in Major League Baseball. But MLB's quest for the black superstar player is part of the problem for declining black participation in baseball in that it failed to integrate at all levels. Integration did not necessarily mean opportunity. As mentioned previously, MLB neglected to recruit many black coaches and managers throughout the years. The first black coach, Buck O'Neil of the Chicago Cubs wasn't hired until 1962, fifteen years after integration. Even more glaring, the first field manager, Frank Robinson, wasn't hired until 1975, fully 28 years after integration (mlb.com). Today, only 2 out of the 30 teams (6%) have an African-American manager. Twelve percent of coaches are African-American. Curiously, on no team were there more than two African-American coaches and 6 teams, or 20%, have no African-Americans in coaching positions, possibly indicating a silent quota system. Conversely, in basketball, 33% of head coaches are African-American (Lapchick *b*). As far as other field authorities go, only 2 out of the 68 umpires, less than 2% listed on MLB's umpire roster were black (mlb.com).

**Comment [19]:** Again, another major shift in the argument/discussion, and it's not remarked as such – catches the reader by surprise.

To further illustrate the idea of MLB's failure to integrate at all levels one could look at Oscar Grunsky's study entitled, *The Effects of Formal Structure on Managerial Recruitment: A Study of Baseball Organization*. In this study, Grusky breaks down positions in baseball to certain traits or characteristics. For example, outfielders and pitchers are known as "low interactors" because they have the lowest rate of team interaction, are more characterized by independent tasks, expected to excel offensively (rather than defensively), are the "sluggers" and are psychologically distant or aloof. On the other hand, infielders and catchers are the "high interactors," or dependent type. Where the outfielder hits homeruns, the infielder is expected to hit singles, bunt or sacrifice for the team's benefit. The catcher especially puts himself in a situation of close interdependence and frequent interaction with infielders. Grusky goes on to say that the formal characteristics of the position directly affects the role skills acquired by the occupant. Therefore, high interactors such as infielders and catchers should be well-liked and more likely to learn cooperative social skills and should have a deep commitment to the welfare of the team. Conversely, outfielders and pitchers, or low interactors, would focus more on individualistic rather than team values. He goes on to prove that most managers are chosen from the high interactor positions (76.9%) rather than the low interactor positions (23.1%). When broken down further by position, the catcher is the most recruited into a managerial position, at 26.2%. This is because, as Grusky explains, catchers acquire esteem by giving advice; they are someone to listen to and therefore are seen as helpful to others. Grusky concludes that players with strong needs for affiliation seek infield/catcher positions. It appears that in MLB, the interaction of a player by position is significantly related to obtain managerial office (Grusky 353).

**Comment [20]:** Very interesting point.

Things become complicated if not questionable when looking closer to position by race. Upon reviewing the *2011 Racial and Gender Report Card: Major League Baseball*, by Dr. Richard Lapchick of The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport, African Americans account for only 11% of all infielders. There are no black catchers in 2011, and historically, this position had low representation of African-Americans. Blacks, today while accounting for only 8.5% of all major league players, make up 29% of all outfielders (Lapchick 16). One could conclude from these reports of Grusky and Lapchick that African-Americans are overrepresented in low interactor positions and underrepresented in high interactor positions. While discrimination is difficult to prove, it makes one wonder if MLB covertly practices an “occupational segregation,” by putting African-American players in the more distant, aloof outfield positions, rather than the social, cooperative and esteemed infield positions, therefore disqualifying these players for managerial consideration.

Another interesting study was done by Andrew Hanssen about discrimination of black players in MLB. In his study, he determines if a black player is a starter and a superstar, the owners cannot afford to shun him because he is too valuable to exclude. If a black player is not a starter or superstar, such as a substitute or bench player, preference is made to white players. The study said black starters or superstars improved winning and attendance, while black substitutes did not. Hanssen’s study which followed hiring practices between the years 1950-1984, showed that black players were consistently less well represented on the bench, as substitutes – such as pinch runners, pitch hitters, or late inning replacements (Hanssen 624-626). He goes on to explain that the average black player may be treated differently than the star and is usually attributed to owners’ distaste for black ball players and the covert ceiling on black percentages on their teams. Player agent Bob Wolf is quoted as saying, “remember, this is an

**Comment [21]:** Not sure your claim of causality here is supportable – but your overall observation that race correlates with type of position played – and therefore with likelihood of moving to a coaching or management position later on – is a good one.

entertainment industry....(owners) might pay a little extra to put a white player on the bench” (Johnson 190). It appears competition for places on a team is most intense for the player of more modest talent. Once again, MLB has shown occupational discrimination.

The battle on the playing field may have been won for African-Americans as far as superstars and winning and salaries go, however, talent does not necessarily determine who gets positions of leadership off the field. Blatant racism is much less evident today, but there is real racial inequality in management. Legal scholar Kenneth Shropshire attributes to two concepts the old boys’ network and the fact that blacks and whites live in different worlds. Talent does not determine who gets position of leadership off the field. Whites and blacks hire within their social networks and people in positions of power hire those they have known and trusted most of their lives. Since MLB has no African-Americans as CEO’s, owners or presidents (the positions of power) it follows that that the hiring in managing off the field is also limited for African-Americans. Out of the 30 teams, 3 African-Americans were general managers and 5% were team vice presidents. Out of 417 front-office personnel, 10% were African-American. In contrast, the NBA, has done a better job of integration: 26% of general managers and executives are black (Lapchick *b*).

Another failure of Major League Baseball to attract African-Americans can be linked to their marketing. Once television became mainstream and Americans shifted from inner city, public forms of recreation to the private leisure of their living rooms, franchises left their traditional urban bases for higher television revenues. MLB’s quest for a broader national media markets caused franchises to leave many cities in the urban east ( with large African-American communities) for the new markets in the west. For example, the Brooklyn Dodgers moved to Los Angeles, the NY Giants moved to San Francisco, the Philadelphia Athletics moved to Oakland

and the Washington Senators moved to Texas, leaving behind markets with large African American populations. Furthermore, since 1975 (the peak of African-American player participation), the following teams have been added: Tampa Bay, Arizona, Seattle, Colorado and Florida. Arizona, Seattle and Colorado are cities/states with a small black population. As for Tampa Bay and Florida, it is clear MLB is tapping into another market: the Latino fan.

The wooing of the Latino fan is a result of baseball scouting, which has focused over recent years in the recruitment of Latin American and Caribbean players. In the 1980's, MLB saw how cheaply Latin players could be signed. For example, future superstars Sammy Sosa and Pedro Martinez, both Dominicans, were signed as teenagers for a combined \$10,000 by Major League Baseball (Gonzalez 1). As a result, every MLB team now has baseball academies in the Dominican Republic. MLB would sign hundreds of players, at a cheaper cost knowing full well only a handful would make it. This is reminiscent of the early days of integration when top Negro League talent was being bought at extremely low prices. Today, 27% of ML players are Latino. In the Caribbean community, life and economy still revolve around baseball. Unlike the demise of the Negro Leagues and the move away from the black community to the major leagues, the Caribbean leagues have been able to resist MLB's takeover. Due to geography (too far away for MLB to build stadiums or operate leagues, and the tricky political landscape) Latino's have been able to keep control and ownership of their local baseball teams, leagues and ballparks. There is also still a connect between Latino players in MLB and fans back home, as the player is always welcome home with open arms and a sense of reverence. In contrast, black athletes in baseball feel cut off from their communities, a disconnect after they achieve success (Ruck 2). There is a loss of identity of the black baseball player to the African American community, while Dominicans see their ballplayers are treasured heroes.

Major league Baseball's fan focus has been on the Latino fan, rather than the black fan. An example from Ruck's *Raceball: How the Major Leagues Colonized the Black and Latin Game* can be seen when one looks at the New York Mets fan marketing. Dominican-born Omar Minaya was the New York Mets General Manager from 2005-2010. He signed high profile Latino stars such as Pedro Martinez and Carlos Beltran. He also intensified marketing of the Latino fan in the NY metropolitan area. Consequently, Mets figure more than 20% of their fan base is Latino (Ruck, 1).

**Comment [22]:** Is there any data on why kinds of positions (low interaction or high interaction) Latino players play in MLB?

Despite enabling individual black superstar players, MLB had overlooked the importance of the black community as a fan base. Marketing and the mass media play a role, too. Only 5% of baseball television announcers are black. Commercials show very few African-American baseball players marketing related products. Even in baseball stadium shots, African-American fans are rarely shown. In a crowd analysis in 2003, only 2% focused on black spectators, only 12% of shots showed a racially mixed crowd, while 85% of shots showed white spectators (Ogden and Rose 225-245). The lack of visibility of blacks in the crowd shots gives the impression few African-Americans spend time at ballparks and do not feel welcome, reminding blacks of a minority status and further alienating the black community as fans. Rather than blacks abandoning baseball, MLB had abandoned the black fan and therefore lost more than a generation of fans and potential players.

After a thirty year decline of African-American athletes, MLB in more recent years is trying to reverse the downward trend. Programs such as RBI, (Reviving Baseball in Inner Cities) and the Urban Baseball Academy are attempting to right some of the wrongs committed by MLB since integration. For example, RBI's mission statement not only includes increased African-American participation in baseball for ages 5-16, but encourages academic

achievement, character education, partners with the Drug-Free America program and includes a scholarship program providing a \$5000 per year scholarship to college-bound RBI participants. This program was started by former African-American player and scout John Young, who grew up in South Central Los Angeles and was disturbed by the declining numbers of skilled players being recruited into baseball. RBI has had some positive achievements by looking at some of its alumni in the big leagues: Coco Crisp, James Loney, Jimmy Rollins, CC Sabathia, and Dontrelle Willis ([mlb.com/rbi](http://mlb.com/rbi)).

However, until MLB can further participation at all levels, and attracts more black fans; it will not achieve great numbers of black participants. The Urban Baseball Academy, instituted by MLB, instructs in all areas of baseball opportunities: maintenance and ground keeping; scouting and player development; sports journalism and broadcasting; statistics, athletic sports training; coaching and many other aspects of professional and interpersonal development ([mlb.com/urban youth academy](http://mlb.com/urban-youth-academy)). To that end, perhaps MLB can fully integrate rather than compromised integration.

Until all avenues of MLB are open to blacks, including being marketed to and valued as fans, blacks will continue to occupy a minimal role in America's "national pastime." There needs to be more of an African-American identity and sense of belonging in baseball. MLB programs such as RBI, the Urban League Academy and celebrations such as Jackie Robinson Day and the Civil Rights Game are good attempts to bridge the divide. African-American role models in these program also help. Ball players like Orlando Hudson, as a representative of the Urban Youth Academy, provides an important player identity link to youth in urban areas, a link missing for far too long. In response to why he is "playing that white man's game"(Stodgill 1) by

African-American youth and why he and his teammates have chosen to participate in the Urban League Academy, Hudson says:

“This is something dear to our hearts. We’re just trying to come out here and get the inner city kids to play the game of baseball, to get those guys into baseball. Baseball’s a lovely game and we want to get kids involved and try and market that side of the game” (Platt 1).

There is much mending to be done to reverse the damage done by Major League Baseball over the years. The failure to integrate at all levels in MLB was one of the major causes of a 30 year decline of African-American participation in baseball and the disillusionment of the black fan. Until full integration at all levels, including the inclusion of black fan, is achieved, baseball will never truthfully maintain the title of “America’s national pastime.” African-Americans had contributed a great richness to the game of baseball, let’s hope MLB’s latest programs will facilitate a new era of baseball for all **Americans**.

**Comment [23]:** GRADE A-minus

XXXXX,

Excellent work on this paper. It makes good use of a large number of sources, weaving them together into a pretty cohesive narrative about the history of African-Americans in baseball – and a secondary narrative about how that history ties in with the broader national history in the U.S. in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

You also do a nice job of introducing your thesis via a “They Say/I Say” move, and of supporting your thesis with the fascinating information about how player positions are racially distributed and factors into management/coaching positions.

There are some issues here, although they don’t detract too much from the overall quality of the paper.

As noted repeatedly above, the paper often fails to signal to its reader when it’s shifting from one important point to another. This is part of a larger tendency for the paper to tell its story in a “laundry list” fashion, which makes it tough to see which paragraphs or points are the most important ones, and how they might connect to each other. To put it another way, in any paper like this there are going to be moments when you’re *making or articulating* your main points, and other moments when you’re providing info or data that *support or illustrate* those main points. In this paper, it’s tough to tell when you’re doing which thing – as the reader I often found myself saying, “Wait a minute, she just moved on to a new point,” and then going back one or two paragraphs and re-reading them to figure out where the paper was headed.

As I say, these are not major problems – the paper makes its case persuasively and in general it has a clear sense of purpose, so as the reader I know what you’re saying and why it’s important that I read about it.

Finally, you will notice that in the first couple of paragraphs I’ve noted a number of stylistic and grammatical issues. These glitches have NOT affected your grade; I’ve marked them just to give you a little feedback in this regard, for future reference. (And so I’ve only marked them at the beginning – they come up elsewhere in the paper too, but I haven’t marked them there.)

Overall, XXXXXX, you’ve done terrific work here. This is a solid effort and I commend you on it. You should be proud of this.



### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Early, Gerald. "Birdland: Two Observations on the Cultural Significance of Baseball." *American Poetry Review* 1996: Web. 03 Aug 2011. <[http: jstor](http://jstor)>.

Grusky, Oscar. "The Effects of Formal Structure on Managerial Recruitment: A Study of Baseball Organization." *Sociometry* 26.3 (1963): Web.01 Aug 2011.

Gwartney and Haworth, James and Charles. "Employer Costs and Discrimination: The Case of Baseball." *Journal of Political Economy* 82.4 (1974): 873-881. Web. 01 Aug 2011. <<http://jstor.com>>.

Hanssen, Andrew. "The Cost of Discrimination, A Study of Major League Baseball." *Southern Economic Journal* 64.3 (1998): Web. 02 Aug 2011. <[http: jstor](http://jstor)>.

Holway, John B. *Black Diamonds: Life in the Negro Leagues from the Men Who Lived It*. Westport, CT: Meckler Books, 1989. Print.

Gonzalez, Ozzie. "A Biography of Sammy Sosa." *Latino Sports Legends*. latinosportslegends.com, 2003. Web. 15 Aug 2011.

Johnson, Bruce. "Team Racial Composition and Players Salaries, Diamond Are Forever, The Business of Baseball." *Brookings Institution*. (1992): Print.

Lanctot, Neil. *Negro League Baseball: The Rise and Ruin of a Black Institution*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. Print.

Lapchick, Richard. "The 2011 Racial and Gender Report Card: Major League Baseball." *The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport, University of Central Florida*., 21 April 2011. Web. 15 Aug 2011. <[www.tidesport.org](http://www.tidesport.org)>.

Lapchick, Richard. b "NBA given A for Diversity in Study." *UCF today*. University of Central Florida, 17 Jun 2011. Web. 08 Aug 2011. <<http://today.ucf.edu/nba-givena-for-diversity-in-study/>>.

Mills, P. "Negro League History 101." *Negro League Baseball.com*. 2003. Web. 15 Jul 2011. <<http://www.negroleaguebaseball.com/history101.html>>.

Web. 01 Aug 2011. <[www.mlb.com/rbi](http://www.mlb.com/rbi)>.

Web. 02 Aug 2011. <[www.mlb.com/urbanyouthacademy](http://www.mlb.com/urbanyouthacademy)>

Web. 03 Aug 2011. <[www.mlb.com/umpires](http://www.mlb.com/umpires)>

Ogden and Rose, David and Randall. "Using Giddens's Structuration Theory to Examine the Waning Participation of African Americans in Baseball." *Journal of Black Studies* 35.4 Web. 15 Jul 2011. <<https://www.jstor.org>>.

Peterson, Robert. *Only The Ball Was White*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970. Print.

Platt, Ben. "Hudson Tours US to get youths involved ." *www.mlb.com*. mlb.com, 23 May 2009. Web. 02 Aug 2011.

Ruck, Rob. "Raceball: How the Major leagues Colonized the Black and Latin Game." *NPR Books*. NPR, 13 Mar 2011. Web. 30 Jul 2011. <[www.npr.org](http://www.npr.org)>.

Shropshire, Kenneth. *In Black and White: Race and Sports in American*. New York: New York University Press, 1996. Print.

Stodgill, Alexis Garrett. "What Ever happened to African-American Baseball Players?." *Atlanta Post* 22 June 2011: n. pag. Web. 02 Aug 2011. <<https://www.atlantapost.com>>.

Sullivan, Neil. "Baseball and Race; The Limits of Competition." *Journal of Negro History* 83.3 (1998): Web. 04 Aug 2011. <<http://jstor.com>>.

Tygiel, Jules. "The Negro Leagues." *Organization of American Historians Magazine of History* 7.1 (1992): 24-27. Web. 02 Aug 2011. <<http://jstor.com>>.

Ward, G. and Burns, K. *Baseball: An Illustrated History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994. Print.